1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

are *e-pota-čiu* and *e-pota-čip* and *ot-otone* in the Northern languages. The derivations of these words has not been ascertained. Similar terms in *Akar-Bale* are *otoni* and *oten* and *aka-yat*. In this language I did not discover any word descriptive of the relationship of father-in-law or mother-in-law. Finally there are such terms as *ot-čat-ya* (adopted) and *ep-taruo-ya* (step-relative).

The most noteworthy feature of these terms is that it is impossible by means of them to deal with relationships that are at all distant. Thus there is no term by which a man can describe his grandfather. In *Akar-Bale* the phrase *dege mama* might mean a grandfather, but it might equally refer to a father-in-law. It is true that the simple terms may be combined as *Aka-Jeru "aka-mimi aka-mai"* = "his mother's father," or *Akar-Bale "deg' in l'ab-atr"* = "my mother's father," but these compounded terms are apparently not often used by the natives. A second noteworthy feature is the existence of terms to denote physiological relationships (as opposed to merely juridical relationships) such as the *Aka-Bea ar-odi-ya*, etc. Finally there is the apparent entire absence, so far as could be determined, of any classification of relatives such as is characteristic of the classificatory systems of relationship. Where there does seem to be some sort of approach to such classification, as in the use of the *Akar-Bale* term *dege mama*, we find that it is really based not on relationships of consanguinity and marriage, but on respective social status[1].

As, in the languages of the Andamans, there are few words serving to denote relationship, and on the contrary a

[1] The systems of relationship of savage peoples are often very difficult to study, even with a thorough mastery of the native language. My account of the Andamanese system is not perhaps complete and is therefore open to error. Since the above account was written I have had the opportunity of studying in Australia several examples of "classificatory" systems of relationship, and can now say very definitely that such a system presents an extreme contrast to the system of the Andamans. My failure fully to comprehend the Andamanese system was partly due to the difficulties of the language, in which I did not have time to become expert, and partly to the nature of the Andamanese terms, of which it is by no means easy to discover the meaning, even with careful observation.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other
836 women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
584 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

837 It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The position of an unmarried girl is very similar to that of an unmarried youth. She is required to help her elders, in particular either her parents or her foster-parents, i.e. the married couple under whose care she is for the time being.

After marriage a son continues to help his parents, providing them with food and seeing that they are comfortable. If either a man or a woman lives in a local group other than that of his or her parents, he or she pays frequent visits to them.

From the time that a youth or girl ceases to belong to the family household, his or her duties to the parents are really only the same in kind as the duties that every young man and woman owes to all the older men and women. Though there is no difference in kind, yet a man or woman is expected to show more affection and respect for his or her own parents than to other persons of the same social standing.

The only other relationship, besides that of husband and wife and that of parents and children, which exists inside the family, is that between children of the same parents. The conduct of brothers to one another depends on their respective ages. The younger is expected to give way to the elder, while the latter protects and looks after the former. The relation of sisters to one another is similar.

The duties of a man and woman to his or her relatives, other than those to parents, brothers and sisters. and even to some extent the duties to these near relatives, are not distinguishable in kind from the duties he or she owes to other persons who are not relatives. Thus a young married man owes certain duties to all the older married men of about the age of his father. These duties are the same in kind as those towards his own father and his foster-father, the only difference being that he must defer more to his own father than to other men, and must be more constant in his attentions to him. I could not discover any way in which a man distinguished, in his dealings with them, his father's brother from his mother's brother. They are both of them older men whom he must respect and to whom he must make presents of food. Similarly a father's sister is not distinguished, so far as I could discover, from a mother's sister. A man treats both of them in much the same way that he treats

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

602 his own mother, or any other woman of the same age. There is only a slight difference in connection with parents-in-law. A man would not be so familiar with his parents-in-law as he would with his parents or their brothers or sisters, and treats them with more deference and respect. This is borne out by the *Akar-Bale* custom of applying to a father-in-law or mother-in-law the same term of address (*Mama*) that is used in speaking to grandparents and others to whom it is required to show particular deference.

602 572 In the same way there is very little difference between the way a man conducts himself towards his elder brother and his conduct towards any other man of the same age. Brothers are often close comrades, putting their huts next to one another in the same village, joining together whenever possible in hunting or fishing expeditions, and so on; but a man may have a comrade who is not his brother, whom he will treat in exactly the same way.

602 The general attitude of a married man to other married men somewhat younger than himself is very much that towards a younger brother. As between men and women one special duty appears in this connection. A married man may not and will not have any close dealings with the wife of a man younger than himself. It is not considered fitting that he should speak to her. If he wished to have any communication with her, he would do so through some third person. It would be regarded as a wrong thing to do if he were ever to touch her. The only explanation that the natives give of this custom is by saying that a man feels "shy" or "ashamed" towards his younger brother's or friend's wife. The custom is exactly the same with respect to the wife of any younger man, whether a brother, a cousin, or a stranger.

This custom depends on the distinction between older and younger. A man may be on terms of familiarity with the wife of a man older than himself, whom he would treat much as he would an elder sister.

601 602 There is one special relationship which has peculiar duties attaching to it, and this is the relationship between the father and mother of a man on the one hand and the father and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

mother of the man's wife on the other. In the *Akar-Bale* language such persons are said to be *aka-yat* to one another. A man or a woman will not have any immediate dealings with a person who is his *aka-yat*. He will not speak to him, and if they should meet or be sitting near to one another they would avoid looking at each other. On the other hand a man is constantly sending presents to his *aka-yat*. The natives say that two persons in this relation feel "shy" or "ashamed." (There is only one word in Andamanese for these two English words, *ot-jete* in *Aka-Jeru*.) The shyness begins at the moment when a marriage between their respective children is first discussed as a possibility, and lasts apparently till death.

As throwing a little light on this peculiar relation it may be mentioned that a similar relation exists between two men who have been through either the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony (to be described in the next chapter) on the same occasion. Two such men will avoid any contact with one another, not speaking to nor looking at each other when they chance to meet, but on the other hand they will be constantly giving each other presents of all kinds, sending them through some third person.

The main features of the relationship system of the Andaman Islanders may be briefly summed up. The duties that one person owes to another are determined much less by their relation to one another by consanguinity and marriage, than by their respective ages and social status. Even within the family, which nevertheless is of importance, the duty of a child to a parent is very little different from his duty to any other person of the same age. There is very little of any special customs relating to conduct towards different kinds of relatives. Corresponding to this we find very few terms to denote relationships and a considerable development of the terms which denote age and social status. Thus a man's duties to his elder brother are much the same as those towards the other men of the same age, and we find that there is no word for "elder brother" but only a term by which a man distinguishes all the men of his own generation older than himself from those who are younger. Similarly there are no duties that a man owes to his father's

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

brother or to his mother's brother which he does not also owe, in perhaps a less degree, to other men of the same age, and there is no term by which he can distinguish his father's brother from those others.

If this account of the system of relationship be accurate it will be seen that the Andamanese society contrasts very strongly, in this matter, with other primitive societies[1].

It remains for us only to examine the social relations between the different local groups. Two neighbouring groups, whether of the same tribe or of different tribes, might be either friendly towards one another or unfriendly. Friendly relations were kept alive by several of the customs of the Andamanese, by the intermarriage of members of different groups, by the adoption of children from one group to another, and by the fact that a man of one group might take up his residence more or less permanently with another (particularly when he married a woman of that group, or was adopted when a boy by one of the men belonging to it). All these customs served to bind some persons in the one group to persons in the other, and thus prevent the two groups from becoming entirely unfriendly to one another.

When two neighbouring local groups were friendly to one another communication between them was kept up by visitors from one group to another, and by occasional meetings of the whole of the two groups.

Either a single person or a family might at any time pay a visit to another camp, staying a few days or weeks or even longer. A man would, however, only go visiting when he was sure of a welcome. Such visits were most frequent in the fine months of the year (December to May). As a husband and wife in many instances belonged to different local groups they

[1] It would not be safe, however, to base any arguments of importance to sociology on the above description of the Andamanese system of relationship alone. Although I tried to learn all that I could on the subject, it is quite certain that I did not learn all that was to be learnt, and it is possible that further enquiry might have shown that I was mistaken in some of my observations. The difficulty of being really sure on these matters is due (1) to the fact that the breaking-up of the old local organisation has produced many changes in their customs, and (2) to the difficulty of questioning the natives on matters connected with relationships when they have no words in their language to denote any but the simplest relationships.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

5. In consequence of the shortness of their lives, their ignorance of any method of maintaining accurate records, and last, not least, the unavoidable complications arising from their system of adoption, it naturally follows that they fail in tracing, and therefore in recognising, relationships beyond the third generation.

6. In addressing a senior male relative, the term *mai·a* or *mai·ola* is employed; if of equal standing, and a father, the same; but if not a parent, the term *mar* is prefixed to his name; if junior, he would be addressed by his name only. The same system applies to the females, with whom *chān·a*[1] or *chā·nola* takes the place of *mai·a* and *mai·ola*, and the "flower" name, to which I can now make but a brief allusion,[2] the place of *mar;* these terms, *mai·a, chān·a*, &c., are equivalent to Mr., Sir, Mrs., Madam, &c.[3] Sir John Lubbock, in his well known work "On the Origin of Civilization,"[4] points out the existence of a similar custom among the *Telugus* and *Tamils.*

7. In a table I have prepared,[5] and which I believe to be fairly complete, there are about sixty terms, exclusive of equivalents, employed to denote the various degrees of relationship recognised by this race. It will there be seen that, as among the Australians near Sydney, mentioned by the Rev. W. Ridley,[6] brothers and sisters speak of one another by titles that indicate relative age; that is, their words for brother and sister involve the distinction of elder or younger, while a like system is adopted in respect to half-brothers, half-sisters, cousins, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law.

8. In addressing the relatives of a wife or husband, or a brother's wife, or sister's husband—provided such be senior to the speaker—the term *mâm*[7] is used.

9. A man or woman may not marry into the family of their brothers- or sisters-in-law, but there is no rule against a man marrying a girl bearing the same name as himself, either in another tribe or in his own community, the *only* bar being that of consanguinity or adoption.

10. The nearest of kin to a widow or widower are, (1) the grown-up children, (2) the parents, and (3) the brothers and sisters.

Proper Names.—1. One of the alleged[8] peculiarities of the

[1] Not "*Chamak*," as given by Dr. Day.
[2] *Vide* next section, paragraph 3.
[3] "According to Williams ('Fiji and the Fijians') their (*i.e.*, the Fijian) languages contain expressions which exactly correspond to the French *Monsieur* and *Madame.*" (Peschel, p. 346.)
[4] *Vide* 4th edition, p. 164.
[5] *Vide* Appendix I.
[6] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 266.
[7] This term is likewise employed in addressing a chief.
[8] *Vide* Tickell.